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LANGUAGE AND CULTURE MAINTENANCE EFFORTS OF THE HUNGARIAN COMMUNITY IN AUSTRALIA

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Abstract

The role of language in the context of ethnic identity has recently been an important topic of research. Language can be regarded as the symbol of an individual's identity, one of many constitutive factors of group membership, called ethnicity. Minority communities, for instance immigrant groups, may connect their ethnic identity to language, since language is often seen as incorporating cultural heritage. The aim of this paper is to investigate written mixed-language discourse with the help of a multimodal approach utilising resources that include two issues of *Magyar Élet* (*Hungarian Life*), a weekly published by members of the Hungarian community living in Australia. Contributors to this weekly may find it an important and appealing alternative to rely on resources offered in more than one language. This research investigates and focuses on linguistically mixed written discourse, i.e., the mixed-language practices which characterize the weekly, in order to reveal how these manifestations contribute to the multifaceted identities and how the Australian Hungarian community maintains its heritage language and culture.

1 Introduction

In this paper, I argue that the members of the Hungarian community living in Australia (who are presumed to have assimilated into the mainstream culture of their adopted country) have developed an identity which can be considered a combination of their native language and culture and their dominant language and culture. This distinctive dynamic identity contributes to the maintenance of their heritage language and culture. Through negotiating their identity via intentional code mixing in their written discourse, they invite members of the dominant mainstream group to learn about and be a part of their culture. Among the many types of significant influences that minority community media can have on ethnic identity construction, there is an opportunity for the community to be present inside and outside of the group as well as operating as an important communicator of culture and a creator of cultural artefacts. Originally, the illustrative material to be analysed in the present paper was intended to be sourced from the latest issues of the weekly *Magyar Élet (Hungarian Life)*, however, the final issue to be published, dated 27 December, 2018 was selected. With this issue, the proprietor of the weekly decided to end the publication due to the decline in the number of subscribers and advertisers using the weekly, so no more recent issues are available on the internet. The other source selected was the 14 February 2008 issue; this was the first issue published electronically and represented a milestone in the weekly's history.

In the present paper a multimodal approach is used to study intentional code-mixing: this approach presumes that in addition to language there may be other means available for making meaning. "The meanings of the maker of a text as a *whole* reside in the meanings made jointly by all the modes in a text" (Kress, 2011, p.37). This statement is especially true when meanings in general are to be understood in a community. Kress emphasizes that "in a multimodal approach, all modes are framed as one field, as one domain. Jointly they are treated as one connected cultural resource for (representation as) meaning-*making* by members of a social group at a particular moment" (2011, p.38). This assumes that the modal resources typical of a culture can be regarded as one comprehensible field, which can contribute to making meaning. Kress (2011, p.38) demonstrates the essence of multimodality as follows:

> [m]ultimodality and social semiotics, together, make it possible to ask questions around *meaning* and meaning-*making*, about the *agency* of meaning-*makers*, the constitution of *identity* in sign- and meaning-making; about the (social) constraints they face in *making meaning*; around *social semiosis* and *knowledge*; how 'knowledge' is produced, shaped and constituted distinctly in different modes; and by whom. Multimodality includes questions around the potentials – the *affordances* – of the resources that are available in any one society for the *making* of meaning; and how, therefore, 'knowledge' appears differently in different modes.

In applying this approach, I agree with Jaworski (2014, p.135), who states – based on former studies – that writing is multimodal, meaning, "a visual medium that incorporates a number of design features from a range of semiotic systems, for example, the choice of a particular script, the font and typeface, the manner and medium of its execution, the use of colour, and so on." Sebba (2014) recommends the application of the methods used by linguistic landscape researchers for the study of language alternation in written discourse, and he identifies two techniques which can indicate "the degrees of integration or separation of languages a multilingual mixed-language text can include" (p.14). Moriarty (2014, p.461) is of the opinion that "linguistic communities that are peripheral in nature or in some way marginalized offer a rich source for LL data," since diasporic communities can express their sense of national and ethnic identity in this manner. This paper follows the approaches suggested by multimodality and linguistic landscape research by analysing the semiotic landscapes via language contact manifestations found in the above-mentioned two publications of the Hungarian community in Australia.

In order to put the focus of the paper into a wider context, I will begin by briefly sketching some meanings of the term 'identity'. I then delineate issues related to identity and language together with the concept of metrolingualism, which suggests that people negotiate identities with the help of language. The reasons why bilinguals prefer to use one language over the other are also discussed. The next section includes a short history of the weekly *Magyar Élet* (*Hungarian Life*). Later on, I introduce the methods and analyses of linguistic landscape researchers, which are used during the process of studying the linguistic and non-linguistic features of the examples; in this way referring to the multimodal nature of the written discourse discussed in this paper.

2 Identity

The term 'identity' is regularly used in popular discourse; ordinary people appear to be aware of the meaning of the word, since the way they use it makes it understandable for the participants involved in the discourse. Nevertheless, when discussing issues related to identity, academics consider it important to explain and

define the term itself. Depending on what discipline they are affiliated with, the focal point of their definition can differ.

Although Fearon (1999) emphasises that dictionaries generally do not capture the recent meaning of 'identity', which is quite a challenge to provide anyway, it may seem to be relevant to refer to some dictionary definitions. According to the on-line dictionary of Merriam-Webster[1], 'identity' means "sameness of essential or generic character in different instances; sameness in all that constitutes the objective reality of a thing; the distinguishing character or personality of an individual." 'Identity' in the Cambridge English Dictionary[2] means "who a person is, or the qualities of a person or group that make them different from others," and the Oxford Dictionaries[3] include a similar meaning, i.e., "the characteristics determining who or what a person or thing is."

Identification can be considered and approached sociologically and functionally on the basis of the dissimilar roles, relations and surroundings in which we have dissimilar selves. From the day we are born we are educated and expected to produce a traditional 'core' identity; nonetheless, in our everyday lives we do not give much consideration to the inconsistencies between our dissimilar selves. Rather, we disregard them, thus achieving a level of social and mental flexibility which is necessary to survive in a multifaceted and inconsistent world. Lemke (2009) draws attention to the identity theory which can be characterised by the notion of 'performing identities', and which involves the activities we accomplish in order to perform our different private and public selves. He argues that we enact the identity most advantageous for us within a set context, and that we should accumulate a set of identity-performing practices, which is a collection of practices exclusive to each individual; nevertheless, in common systems we all share them. Lemke concludes that we can achieve this goal via identification because "at many points in our lives we adopt identities, or the elements of performing them, from the common culture" (2009, p.147).

Jaworski and Thurlow (2011, p.7) note that people construct their identities to a certain extent via "the process of geographical imagining, the locating of self in space, claiming the ownership of specific places, or by being excluded from them, by sharing space and interacting with others". They emphasise that in this context space is 'diversity', so it cannot be considered a mere physical thing that can be carefully circumnavigated. In their argumentation they state that both cultures and people are situated in space, so the concept of home, i.e. belonging, unavoidably depends on particular geographical locations which we become familiar with "both sensually and intellectually through semiotic framing and various forms of discoursal construal" (ibid.,7). According to Mahootian (2014, p.193), "identity is not a monolithic concept, but a layered construction". He further argues that the languages we select in our communication "all contribute to who (we think) we are, how we want others to see us and how others actually perceive us" (ibid.,193). Lemke (2004) – in accordance with all of the above – states that identity is multifaceted and can be defined "on many timescales of behavioural coherence". Lemke (2004, p.72) makes mention of identities which we perform, we maintain; or we construct them for ourselves and invite people around us to support them across settings (e.g., age, social class, gender). He finds it significant, however, that we are not misled "by the normative ideal of a consistent fixed stereotypical identity" (ibid.,72), which is the result of the "highly regulative, institution-dominated, modernist culture" (ibid.,72). Sallabank (2013, p.505) supports this idea when she states that due to the influence of postmodernism, identities of recent times are not regarded as fixed, formal realities, "but rather a fluid, shaped while people compose and position themselves within various social settings of their everyday lives." Lemke (2004, p.72) is of the opinion that the majority

[1] https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/identity
[2] http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/identity
[3] https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/identity

of people intentionally activate "on various timescales, identity performances and identity claims that contradict the standpoint of modernist identity standardisation." Throughout their lives, individuals "surf across the identity possibilities of their cultures, taking them as semiotic resources to play with rather than as essentialist necessities of their being" (Lemke, 2004, p.73). According to Jaworski and Thurlow (2011, p.8), diasporic communities can preserve their sense of ethnic and national identity; also they can articulate their nostalgia for their past and mother country by using imagery of place as a resource. In each ethnic, racial, cultural or gender-related speech community language use is of vital importance. Hortobágyi (2009, p.258) argues that although each individual community has its own norms, codes and forms of communication, language is used not only as a means of communication but also as a marker of the speaker's cultural identity. A speech community may decide to maintain the commonly agreed rules and norms, but may just as well decide to gradually change them according to the new communication environment. In addition, in all communities there is a certain individual deviation from the norms, as not all the members of a speech community communicate in the same way in a specific situation or interaction.

3 Language and identity

Language is one of the resources by which people can 'present' and 'represent' themselves; language has been proposed as the most significant aspect of individual identity, it is a more typical representative of ethnicity and identity than ancestry, religion or residence (cf. Mahootian, 2014). Identity can be created, manifested and disclosed by language. In order to discuss issues related to language and identity, Lemke (2004, p.69) constructed a theoretical framework, which he named "ecosocial dynamics". This new approach is a combination of 'ecosystem dynamics', which is the compilation of theories in the field of biology that observe how "energy and matter flow through ecological systems and maintain relatively stable patterns of organization" (ibid.,69). The other component of the new theoretical framework is 'social semiotics', which is based on Halliday's (2004) approach to the role of language in society. It refers to the means by which "the social functions of language and other semiotic resources (e.g. visual representations) help determine the variety of those resources" (ibid.,69). Lemke finds it important to add that ecosocial systems do not include organisms but social processes and semiotic practices; in other words, in "communities in which humans most directly participate, ecosocial systems include not only people, but artifacts, architectures, landscapes, etc." (ibid.,70). Vetter (2013, p.215), in her article on social networks, refers to the paradigm shift that characterizes the identity research of recent times. According to her the obvious relationship between language and ethnic identity should be negated. She declares that in the field of multilingualism research this "essentialism of identity" is rejected, adding that "fluidity of identities is more applicable." In order to understand this phenomenon, it is very important to equally study the systems of knowledge that generate it and the multilingual environments in which it is produced. In the case of metrolingualism, for a more precise study of contemporary language use, meanings must be deconstructed, reconstructed and negotiated not only according to the stance of the interlocutor or of the reader and their cultural norms, but also according to the environment in which they occur (Hortobágyi, 2017, p.146). In other words, multilingual people negotiate their multiple identities in contact situations. Referring to language contact situations, Clyne (1991, pp.3-4) states that linguistic behaviour is "both an expression of multiple identity and a response to multiple identity," adding that one of the four major functions of language is that it is "a means by which people can identify themselves and others."

Gardner-Chloros (2014, p.176), referring to Hamers and Blanc (2000, pp.204-207), highlights that people, during the process of becoming bilinguals, acculturate into the other culture, by which they become bicultural through the acquisition of the language skills and cultural rules of the new culture and assimilate them properly into their primary culture; thus their identity develops into a bicultural one. She goes on to argue that the effect of language on identity is of significant importance.

The concept of 'metrolingualism', which was developed by Otsuji and Pennycook in 2010, is defined by Jaworski (2014, p.134) "as the contemporary practice of creative uses, or mixing, of different linguistic codes in predominantly urban contexts, transcending established social, cultural, political and historical boundaries, identities and ideologies." Jaworski (2014, p.139) emphasizes that the ultimate goal of metrolingualism is to confront and undermine conventional and stable identity attributions; that is, "to disrupt or destabilize dominant expectations and ideologies." Jaworski (2014, p.139) accepts Otsuji and Pennycook's (2010, p.246) explanation of metrolingualism, according to which

> the way in which people of different and mixed backgrounds use, play with and negotiate identities through language [...] does not assume connections between language, culture, ethnicity, nationality or geography, but rather seeks to explore how such relations are produced, resisted, defied or rearranged; its focus is not on language systems but on languages as emergent from contexts of interaction.

4 Language choice of bilinguals

Language choice is predominantly concerned with linguistic resources that are accessible to bilingual people, and conversely with how they formulate their preferences in terms of code choice when interacting with their fellow community members. L1 and L2 use of bilinguals can refer to their group membership with regard to how they perceive themselves and in relation to others. In other words, they designate their view of themselves and their connection to other participants in the discussion. Myers-Scotton (2006, p.143) supposes that the most important motivation for deciding on the use of a language in an interaction is to revive the socio-psychological values that are connected to that language. She presumes that all the linguistic varieties that are at the disposal of the members of a bilingual community are associated with particular social meanings, which is a component of bilinguals' communicative competence. Many factors can influence the preference of one language over the other (language attrition, imperfect language learning), Myers-Scotton (2006, p.141) however, emphasises that it is the symbolic value that a certain language has which is most likely to contribute to the decision. She also states that "choosing a variety is both a tool and an index of interpersonal relationships." The linguistic choices can be referred to as indexical signs. Nevertheless, Myers-Scotton (2006, p.145) underlines that "the variety itself is not a message, but it points to a message" carrying a unique sort of meaning. She continues the argument that "as indexical signs, the choice is not the social message [...] the interpretations are the social messages." Obviously, several interpretations can be connected to the choice.

Clyne (2003, pp.67-68), when discussing the language maintenance of bilinguals, states that the disadvantages of the process can at times prevail over the advantages. Drawbacks can involve the negative effect on the individual's identity, on the one hand, and forced identification from the outside world, on the other. Benefits include the possibility of articulating the speaker's multiple identity in words, as well as the opportunity to express solidarity in the community and the family through

effective communication. Clyne (2003) refers to the market value of a language, which comprises the linguistic market for interethnic communication (majority language) and intraethnic communication (choice of languages). He suggests that bilinguals have to consider the continuing advantages of language maintenance as they get integrated into the interethnic marketplace. Code-switching/code-mixing is a prevalent occurrence in bilingual verbal communication; consequently, the majority of research on bilingualism concentrates on this subject matter.

Riehl (2005) describes the different approaches scholars have produced in their studies distinguishing between three types of procedures which may aid the investigation of code-switching/code-mixing. First of all, she mentions the sociolinguistically conditioned approach, in which "factors such as the interlocutor, social role, domain, topic, venue, medium, and type of interaction play an important role" (ibid.,1945). This socio-pragmatically conditioned approach does not involve function "in the local conversational context" (ibid.,1945); rather it can express attitudes towards language or can indicate linguistic identity, since it concentrates on why and when a language user selects one language variety in preference over the other. The grammatical approach to code-switching/code mixing focuses on patterns, i.e., the types of switching/mixing structures found in particular data. Riehl argues that through this investigation "it is possible to offer interesting indications about the underlying structure of language systems by analysing code-switching constraints, i.e. the points within a sentence at which the transition from one language to the other is possible" (ibid.,1945). When scholars focus on the processes that are going on in the speaker's brain, they are involved in the third aspect, i.e., the psycholinguistically motivated code-switching, which incorporates language alternation stimulated by the specific conditions of language production, not by the intentions of the speaker. Clyne (2003, p.162) provides examples of these occurrences under the heading of "triggering," or "facilitation". This is what Auer (2013, p.461) refers to as non-orthodox or facilitated code- switching/mixing, during which the transition is not sudden but goes through an indistinct phase. Riehl (2005, p.1954) concludes that both the sociolinguistic and the psycholinguistic approaches focus on speakers who use different codes, while in the focus of the grammatical approach the language system is utilised. Studying popular mainstream publications in the United States, Mahootian (2014) observed that the examples of intentional code-switches between English and community population language found in nationwide publications in the United States are "a discourse practice" with the help of which "a bilingual identity is branded, defined and consequently valorized" (ibid.,195). He maintains that the aim of intentionally produced code-mixing in printed media is "to delineate territory, socially and politically" (ibid.,195).

5 Linguistic landscape research

For the study of language alternation in written discourse, Sebba (2014) proposes the application of the methods and analyses of linguistic landscape researchers who study multilingual signage in urban centres. The works of Landry and Bourhis (1997), Sebba (2012), Jaworski (2014) and Moriarty (2014) clearly build a conceptual framework and network of the elements constituting the linguistic landscape (LL). Based on the references listed it can be argued that both the oral and the written linguistic performances of people are deeply embedded at the intersection between verbal and non-verbal elements. All the representations of these languages – from topographic signs related to place names and street names, public signs and billboards advertising commercial services and cultural performances, to the built environment of shopping malls and airports – underlie the importance of recognizing two symbolic functions for LL, namely the obvious informative function that conveys

information and a symbolic function that embeds our experience in the built realities. Several decades ago, when mobility and worldwide communication were less rushed and complex, this linguistic landscape was supposed to be more static, informing only the people of the contingent multilingual environment. Currently, LL is highly dynamic and is undergoing continuous change. It is also worth considering that presently, as most forms and instances of communication are positioned in relation to social media, and as phone-users communicate predominantly through texts, multimodality also influences the audience's semiotic and generic understanding of information. A novel interpretation of the linguistic input and language resources employed in computer-mediated communication (CMC) and computer-mediated discourse analysis (CMDA) can lead to a better understanding of how the multimodality of media texts generates new meanings through the usage of different semiotic modes (Hortobágyi, 2017, p.147).

For a better decoding of the conveyed message, Sebba (2014) calls attention to the existence of a certain parallelism in both oral and written texts. This means that in a multicultural and multilingual environment there are 'twin texts', each with the same content but rendered in different codes/languages. Parallelism is the norm for bilingual signage; its obvious function is to give the reader a choice of languages; that is, there is an assumption that the reader is monolingual or has a preferred language. Some of these types are parallel texts for collective and multilingual readership rather than for monolingual individual access. Others are complementary texts, where two or more textual units with different content are juxtaposed within the framework of a textual composition. The juxtaposed texts may be monolingual internally, or they may contain a mixture of languages (code-switching at the sentential or intra-sentential level), and they assume a reader who is bi- or multiliterate or at least has adequate reading competence in both languages. It is also worth considering that in addition to the importance of the verbal level, language alternation in written discourse can also be approached from the perspective of the relationship between the elements of various semiotic devices employed in rendering the proposed meaning. Therefore, when analysing the language of newspapers and advertisements – to remain within the scope of our research – we have to comment on the visual images, nonverbal communication, architecture and the built environment determining our text. Depending on the type of multilingual community and the dynamics of its functioning, elements of global communication coexist with local varieties, but from their form and content we can clearly discern either a competition between varieties as a sign of tension between the language communities themselves, or of monolingualism, which occurs in friendly and harmonious community expression. In short, the written discourse of texts within a community provides visible signs of the societal actors' goals and cultural priorities; and as argued in this paper, these texts can contribute to the construction of the identity of bilingual people.

Sebba (2014) states that "the production and reading of mixed-language texts are to be viewed as social practices [...], as a complex of *literacy practices* situated in particular social historical and linguistic contexts" (p.8). In other words, in addition to how they are created and how they will be read, it is important to know by whom and for whom they are created; i.e. the intended audience. A major concern is that researchers studying written discourse focus on "written texts *as* text," i.e. sequences of words on a page, rather than studying it in the visual context a reader would encounter it, e.g. style, colours, font sizes, etc. These elements of information can provide "context for interpreting the content of a text" (ibid.,5). Sebba indicates that the focus of research in the field of multilingual written texts should be moved "from text-as-text to text-as-image" (ibid.,11), since particular text types can and do make use of the "potential of the visual medium for complex layouts, multilayering and the use of a range of fonts and graphic devices because they can function as contextualization

cues" (ibid.,12). Considering all of the above, Sebba suggests that the focal point of the analysis of multilingual texts be extended to the "complete text" taking into account its "visual and linguistic whole" (ibid.,12).

6 The ethnic press in Australia

During the 1990s there were more than 120 Australian newspapers published predominantly on a weekly basis in over 30 community languages in Australia. This did not take into account the numerous club, church and other organizational newsletters. The number of community language publications, however, tended to decrease (Clyne, 1991). Circulation is frequently dependent on new immigration waves. Newspapers are the only major privately financed community language institutions. Some of them source and reprint articles from overseas publications. This helps readers maintain and develop vocabulary and structures, often introducing them to neologisms reflecting socioeconomic, political and technological change in the country of origin. Some newspapers are written, consciously or unconsciously, in a variety of the language which is representative of its state at the time period of a marginal group's migration. Clyne draws attention to the fact that "advertisements and letters to the editor better reflect the varieties of the community language employed by most speakers in Australia" (p.146).

6.1 The Hungarian press in Australia

To ascertain the extent to which newspaper publications of the Hungarian community in Australia have contributed to these functions a basic introduction to the history of *Magyar Élet* (*Hungarian Life*) is provided, based predominantly on personal communication with Endre Csapó, editor-in-chief, in 2005.

The history of Hungarian media publishing dates back to at least the mid-1940s. When new emigrants landed in Sydney, they were handed a selection of Hungarian newspapers that were 'published' (e.g., typed and photocopied) by Hungarians who had settled in Australia six months earlier. One must remember that this was an era governed by the policy of assimilation in Australia, which lasted until the 1970s and was based on a belief in the benefits of homogeneity and a vision of Australia as a racially pure white nation. This policy drew its rationale from the so-called White Australia Policy. During the last decades of the nineteenth century, concern grew about the level of 'coloured' immigration to the Australian colonies, and many of them passed restrictive immigration legislation. The *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* was passed following Federation in 1901, based on the former colonial legislation. The aim was to limit non-white immigration to Australia.[4] While the preference at this time was for British migrants, others were accepted on the basis that they should shed their cultures and languages and be assimilated into the host population so that they would rapidly become indistinguishable from it. By the late 1950s, although the preference for British migrants remained, and there were still concerns about the homogeneity of Australian society, an open appreciation of the positive contribution of people from a wider range of backgrounds was reflected in public policy (Castles, Kalantzis, Cope, & Morrissey, 1992, pp.43-56). During this period, ordinary immigrants were not encouraged to establish newspapers published in their native language; it was only the clergy who were permitted to do so. Consequently, the first publications were basically the newsletters of Hungarian congregations representing different denominations. They contained

[4] https://www.legislation.gov.au/Details/C1901A00017, http://www.naa.gov.au/collection/a-z/immigration-restriction-act.aspx

news and information on local events in major cities where the Hungarian settler population was more substantial; moreover, they aimed to give spiritual support to the people who had voluntarily or involuntarily left their homelands.

Australia is considered to be one of the most urbanised countries in the world (Castles, Kalantzis, Cope, & Morrissey, 1992, pp.120-121), which means that the majority of the inhabitants live in large metropolitan cities, predominantly in Sydney and Melbourne. Then come the other capital cities such as Adelaide, Brisbane and Perth. Hungarian immigrants settled down on the island-continent in that order forming separate Hungarian minority groups. Due to the huge distances, any form of communication with each other was almost impossible. In order to remain Hungarian and to preserve Hungarian language and culture, different associations were organised, and these associations published their newsletters. These publications were the forerunners of the later newspapers. The first real daily newspaper, *Független Magyarország* (*Independent Hungary*), (original title: *Dél Keresztje* (*Southern Cross*)) was established by the Jesuit priest Ferenc Forró in Sydney in 1951, and edited by Kázmér Nagy, who became the proprietor of the paper in 1954 (Kunz, 1997, p.187). It did not have a large circulation, although it increased due to the new immigration wave of the late 1950s. In 1957, a recently arrived Hungarian entrepreneur established a newspaper called *Magyar Élet* (*Hungarian Life*) in Melbourne, relying on the advertisements of local businesses, but it was only able to survive because it was printed on the owner's press. A decisive change took place in 1977, when a retired Hungarian businessman by the name of János Ady bought the paper and changed its content and attitude. In 1964 Sydney associations published a monthly newsletter called *Ausztráliai Magyarság* (*Hungarians in Australia*), however, the paper could not be maintained. Endre Csapó, the editor, decided not to distribute it free of charge any more, but instead introduced a subscription rate. He employed a publicist, increased the number of the pages and worked with enthusiastic volunteers. He was not paid for his work. The year 1978 marked an important milestone in the history of the Hungarian press in Australia with the merger of the weekly *Magyar Élet* (*Hungarian Life*), which had been published in Melbourne for twenty years, and the monthly *Ausztráliai Magyarság* (*Australian Hungarians*), which had been published in Sydney since 1964. With this merger, a countrywide weekly newspaper for the Hungarian minority in Australia was established.

In order to have a national Hungarian newspaper in Australia, Endre Csapó (with his newspaper) was prepared to join the Melbourne paper in 1978 without becoming an owner of the newly established newspaper. With this merger the editors' and publishers' only aim was to provide the Hungarian community in Australia with a weekly newspaper that reflected its way of thinking and mentality. Four years later, in 1981 Attila Márffy became the proprietor of *Magyar Élet* (*Hungarian Life*). During the next 25-30 years, it had a circulation of 3,800 copies, with approximately 10,000 readers; quite a reasonable number, especially if we consider the size of the Hungarian community in Australia. The Hungarian community, however, was an ageing minority, so the number of subscribers and readers steadily declined. The intended readership was the generation which had been born and raised in Hungary. The newspaper was delivered to its subscribers by post, and was also available at numerous newsagencies in Sydney and Melbourne. The editorial office was situated in Melbourne. The proprietor, Attila Márffy, was in charge of the design, whereas Endre Csapó, the editor-in-chief, provided the paper with editorials and other articles. The publication was generally 20 pages long; however this increased to 28 pages for the Christmas issue. The layout mostly consisted of five columns, but some pages were only divided into three or four columns. It also shared the common ills of publications of this type, one of which is stylistic dichotomy. This means that in addition to containing articles, stories or anything written in Australia, articles, advertisements etc. were

sourced from foreign publications. Obviously, this resulted in differences in language and content. The typological setting of the paper was unified as every article was printed in the same type-size. Some of the advertisements and headlines, however, showed a difference, because they were printed either in italics or in boldface. Not the whole repertoire of the typographical elements was exploited in the paper. Although it was in black and white, the pages were diversified with photographs usually with, but sometimes without captions.

In spite of the weaknesses mentioned above, *Magyar Élet* (*Hungarian Life*) like other minority newspapers, had a relatively high readership for many decades. Whereas nation-wide newspapers are produced by full-time journalists using modern technology and media techniques, minority newspapers are generally family enterprises with relatively poor computer and publishing facilities. While the former are easily accessible in electronic format, the latter are usually not. Nevertheless, in order to meet the requirements of modern times, from the 14th February, 2008 the only Hungarian weekly in Australia was made available on the internet in order for the younger generation to access it. Ten years later, together with the 27th December, 2018 issue the following statement was published by Márffy, the proprietor of *Magyar Élet* (*Hungarian Life*), on the homepage of the weekly:

> The increasing number of obituaries in the newspaper clearly indicated the ageing nature of our readership. Younger generations, on the other hand, are not interested in printed papers any more, they obtain information via computer sources, moreover they communicate with each other with the help of computers. For decades, the only source of information on events and on their reports for readers was the weekly, but today there are many other resources. The decreasing number of subscribers and advertisements placed in the newspaper reached a point when the income could no longer cover the costs of printing and posting the weekly. […] The editorial team of the weekly have a clear conscience but are saddened to say farewell to its readership.[5] (Translation by the author)

Editor-in-chief Csapó, who passed away on 24 June, 2019 at the age of 97, summarized the mission of the weekly as follows:

> *Magyar Élet* (*Hungarian Life*) has fulfilled its mission. It was established when there was a great need for it, and it ceases when all the possibilities that could have an impact on the Hungarian social life here disappear. It has been a manful act to preserve some part of the nation to be Hungarian. Thanks to everybody who has contributed to this.[6] (Translation by the author)

> One of the editors, *Erika Józsa,* stated in the final issue that

> the weekly has served the Hungarian community in Australia for 61 years. […] It was established due to the persistent longing for the homeland, and the constant pursuit for the national identity, which was lost when crossing the Hungarian border in the 1940s, 50s or 80s. There was a need for Hungarian content to form a Hungarian community in a foreign country, where a foreign language was used, people had a different way of thinking and values.[7] (Translation by the author)

[5] http://www.magyarelet.net/irasok/elbucsuzik-a-magyar-elet
[6] http://www.magyarelet.net/irasok/elbucsuzik-a-magyar-elet
[7] http://www.magyarelet.net/irasok/elbucsuzik-a-magyar-elet

7 Aims, approaches and data

Reiterating the scope of this paper to investigate written mixed-language discourse following the approaches discussed in detail above (Kress, 2011; Sebba, 2012, 2014), the resources that have been used include two issues of the weekly published by the Hungarian community in Australia. They provide the source for this research that studies intentional code mixing in light of the trends highlighted in the previous section. Contributors to these weeklies may find it an important and appealing alternative to rely on resources provided by more than one language. Their multilingual language usage in everyday oral communication may differ from their written language uses; written language discourse is simply seen as another situation where they interact with other bilingual people. This research investigates and focuses on linguistically mixed written discourse, i.e. the mixed-language practices which characterise the weekly, in order to observe how these manifestations contribute to a community's multifaceted identity. Sebba (2014, p.7) states that a multilingual text, for example the newspaper of a minority community, is "the product of a multilingual culture," in other words "the collective property of a multilingual speech community". As written texts, they can be characterized by the two conditions of permanence and reproducibility, where the distinction between a spoken and a written discourse does not necessarily imply the expression of permanent versus non-permanent linguistic relations between the audience, or readership.

8 *Magyar Élet (Hungarian Life)*: a multilingual text analysis of the only Hungarian weekly in Australia

Figure 1. Invitation for a harvest ball
http://epa.oszk.hu/02200/02228/00157/pdf/EPA02228_Magyar_Elet_2008_06.pdf

Figure 1 illustrates an invitation announcing the event of a harvest ball; a traditional aspect of country life originating from the celebration of a successful autumn vintage. This event is organised by the *Hungarian Social Club*, whose name is partly provided with parallelism, i.e., the Hungarian equivalent of the word *Hungarian*, which is *Magyar,* is also included; however, complementarity is characteristic of the multilingual text. The mainly Hungarian text includes the address of the event in English, which is quite logical, since a road's name loses its relevance when translated into a different language,

and accordingly, the Hungarian order of an address (post code, town, name of street, number of house) would geographically confuse and mislead people in Australia. The name of the club and the event is represented in large bold uppercase font to attract the reader's attention to the two most important pieces of information.

Figure 2. Poster of a traditional Hungarian event called *Hungarofest*
http://www.magyarelet.net/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/Magyar-Elet-2018.-dec.-27.pdf

Figure 2 illustrates a traditional Hungarian event called *Hungarofest*, which is held in Melbourne annually. Multimodality characterises it insofar as both linguistic and non-linguistic features contribute to the compilation of the information leaflet. The name of the event, *Hungarofest*, is emphasised in two ways: through type face and font size on the one hand and through the colours of the Hungarian flag (red, white and green), on the other. In addition to the name of the event, which is a compound word of Latin origin, it is the date and the venue of the event which are provided in English. These elements of information aim to additionally provoke interest in non-Hungarian readers. The accompanying images of a dancing couple wearing traditional Hungarian folk costumes and a display of Hungarian embroidery also portray the tone of the event. The detailed description of the program is provided in Hungarian, in which two interlingual contact linguistic manifestations are worth mentioning. In the sentence:

> *Koncertjeiken játszanak eredeti Kárpát Medencei* (sic!) *népzenét, de előadnak Bach és Bartók számokat is.* [Concert-Poss-Pl-Sup play-Pl original Carpathian

Basin-deriv folk music-Acc, but perform-Pl Bach and Bartók piece-LinV-Pl-LinV-Acc too]

The word order reflects the word order of the English sentence (SVO). In Hungarian SOV word order is preferred. In the phrase *Bach és Kodály számokat* the English phrases "musical composition, musical piece" must have motivated the choice of words because in English they can denote both classical and popular pieces of music. In comparison the Hungarian term (*zene*)*szám* generally refers to popular music and the term *zenedarab* would be the appropriate term in the given context.

Figure 3. Business advertisement
http://www.magyarelet.net/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/Magyar-Elet-2018.-dec.-27.pdf

Figure 3 is an advertisement sourced from the December 27, 2018 issue of Australian *Magyar Élet*. It includes both Hungarian and English language texts which are – to a certain extent – kept visually separate. The top section, including the names of both the business and its representative, and the particularities and the philosophy behind the services they offer, is entirely in English. The bottom section providing the URL link to their homepage, postal address, telephone number and the email address of the office is also in English. Mention must be made of the facts that the words 'email' and 'fax' are spelled identically in the two languages, and the word "telephone" is spelled in Hungarian, however the phone number does not indicate an international country code. Additionally, as mentioned above, a street name loses its relevance when translated into another language, and besides this it does not make much sense, nor is it customary to follow the Hungarian order of an address in Australia. The middle section of the advertisement describing the activities of the business is chiefly in Hungarian. The closing remark in the advertisement: "We speak both Hungarian and English" has two spelling errors: the words "magyarúl" and "angolúl" should be spelled "magyarul" and "angolul" respectively. The three sections are supported visually inasmuch as that the English text is mainly in bold font, whereas the Hungarian text is not.

Figure 4. Statement posted on the website http://www.magyarelet.net/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/Magyar-Elet-2018.-dec.-27.pdf

Despite the final issue of the weekly including a large volume of parting salutations, retrospective memories and acknowledgements provided by its editors, subscribers and readers, Figure 3 refers to the future: "The webpage of *Magyar Élet* (*Hungarian Life*) will not disappear, there will always be something to read on it. It will be worth opening." With this statement, contributors to the weekly aimed to convey that language and cultural maintenance efforts in the community will unquestionably continue.

9 Conclusion

The present paper, using resources selected from two issues of a weekly published by the Hungarian community in Australia, describes and analyses written mixed-language discourse in adherence to the novel approaches initiated by Kress (2011) and Sebba (2012, 2014). The new theoretical framework suggests a form of multimodal approach to multilingual text types and considers the linguistic properties together with the visual and spatial relationships of languages on a page. The investigated texts include intentional language alternation with instances of parallelism and complementarity, which are intermittently supported by graphic devices. In conclusion, it can be stated that this deliberate code mixing reflects the special language use and multifaceted identity of the members of the Hungarian community, which are generated by the dissimilar cultural environments, and which are assumed to have contributed to the language and culture maintenance efforts of the community. The weekly, however, posted its last publication in December, 2018.

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